related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoi' - tsaupan.

114. Ash — benuna.

115. Charcoal — kadarrma-tipwa.

116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo' .

Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

117. kumasa

118. putosa

119. pusa

120. kambwo

121. erindasa

122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.

123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.

124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchi (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.

125. Gourd bottle — wai.

126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-yeuku; etc.

127. Juice of casave (yuca) — kumachi.

Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

128. kachiri.

129. paiba

130. parakari

131. akeüyeüka

132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o. ina. Taurepán, o. üna, o. üna, üña. Makuchi (Williams), oi-nə. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) hõline. Most other languages agree with Yauarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arina-to, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o. i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

252 [177] Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any combread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 270 171 263 407 [171] Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[174] [144] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 407 [401] The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,

122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 – Analyst]

273 or flavored by other ingredients. The generic name for the beverages thus prepared in the simplest way is kachiri, which is usually based on a mash of casave and of which there are varieties arising from the addition or substitution of other ingredients. Grated sweet potato (Ipomea) is added to one of the commonest varieties, giving it a reddish color.

Paiba, usually distinguished from kachiri, proper, is made of cooked (overcooked or burned) casave which is wrapped in leaves and left to ferment until black, after which it is broken up, soaked in warm water, and fermented. This is dark in color and is sometimes called "black Kachiri."

Parakari is made of cooked casave, like paiba, (but less heavily cooked). This is soaked in water and then wrapped in leaves for some time before being mashed and fermented but it does not turn black.

● 272
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407

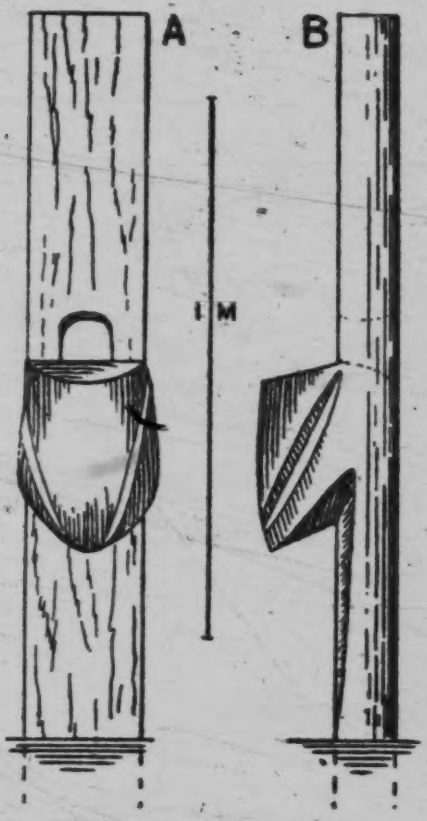

Fig. 26 — Kamarakoto Cane Press.
A, front view. B, side view.

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
409 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. "This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
197 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst]
3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]